

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1632
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4915

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE: COMMENTS OF SOVIET DEL OFFICER

SUMMARY: AT PRIVATE BILATERAL LUNCHEON JULY 19, SECOND-RANKING MEMBER OF SOVIET DEL COMMENTED ON A NUMBER OF CURRENT CSCE ISSUES. MOST INTERESTING ELEMENT WAS HIS STATEMENT THAT SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO REACH "AN UNDERSTANDING" WITH U.S. ON POLITICAL TONE OF MAIN MEETING. WE TOLD SOVIET DEL OFFICER THAT WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO REACH ANY SUCH "UNDERSTANDING," AND REITERATED ADMINISTRATION'S STATEMENTS THAT WE FAVOR A CONSTRUCTIVE MAIN MEETING. WE UNDERLINED NEED FOR CONTINUING IMPLEMENTATION PROGRESS IF MAIN MEETING IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL. END SUMMARY.

1. SECOND-RANKING MEMBER OF SOVIET DEL (KONDRASHOV) INVITED USDEL OFFICER (MARESCA) TO PRIVATE BILATERAL LUNCHEON JULY 19. KONDRASHOV'S COMMENTS ON CURRENT CSCE ISSUES FOLLOW:

(A) POLITICAL TONE OF MAIN MEETING: KONDRASHOV SAID HIS
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REASON FOR WANTING TO TALK TO USDEL OFFICER WAS THAT SOVIETS WISHED TO REACH "AN UNDERSTANDING" WITH THE U.S. ON THE POLITICAL TONE OF THE MAIN MEETING. IT WOULD BE USELESS, HE SAID, FOR U.S. AND USSR TO LAUNCH INTO POLEMICAL ACCUSATIONS OF EACH OTHER, AND THIS WOULD HAVE A VERY NEGATIVE EFFECT ON LONG-TERM U.S. -SOVIET RELATIONS AND DETENTE IN GENERAL. THE SOVIETS WERE PRE-

PARING THEIR "DOSSIERS" AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN SUCH MUTUAL CRITICISM, BUT THESE "DOSSIERS" WERE ONLY CONTINGENCY MATERIAL, AND WOULD BE USED IN EXACT RECIPROCITY TO THE TYPES AND TONE OF CRITICISM LEVELED BY USDEL AT SOVIETS. SOVIET POLICY WOULD BE TO FOLLOW EXACTLY WHAT THE U.S. DOES. BUT THE USSR RECOGNIZES THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SUPER-POWERS FOR PRESERVING DETENTE, AND FOR THIS REASON, THEY WOULD LIKE TO COME TO "AN UNDERSTANDING" WITH THE U.S. ABOUT THE LEVEL OF MUTUAL CRITICISM DURING THE FALL MEETING. OF COURSE, KONDRASHOV SAID, THE SOVIETS EXPECT CRITICISM IN THE U.S. PRESS. THEY REALIZE THAT THIS IS A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT MATTER, BUT THEY HOPE THE USG WILL ISSUE "ORDERS" OR AT LEAST "GUIDANCE" TO THE MEDIA ON HOW TO TREAT THE MAIN MEETING. USDELOFF REPLIED THAT USDEL WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO COME TO ANY "UNDERSTANDING" WITH SOVIET DEL ON TONE OF MAIN MEETING, WHICH WOULD BE DECIDED ON A POLITICAL LEVEL. HE CITED ADMINISTRATION'S NUMEROUS STATEMENTS TO EFFECT THAT U.S. WILL APPROACH FALL MEETING CONSTRUCTIVELY, WITHOUT DELIBERATELY SEEKING CONFRONTATION. KEY TO SUCCESSFUL FALL MEETING WOULD BE A STEADY RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT.

(B) DURATION OF MAIN MEETING: KONDRASHOV REFERRED TO VORONTSOV'S TABLE-POUNDING THREAT, IN COFFEE-BREAK DIS-CONFIDENTIAL

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CUSSION DURING MORNING PLENARY JULY 19, THAT, IF THERE WERE NO AGREEMENT ON A TERMINAL DATE, THERE WOULD BE NO MEETING IN BELGRADE THIS FALL. HE SAID HE DID NOT THINK VORONTSOV HAD EXPRESSED HIMSELF VERY WELL. WHAT HE REALLY MEANT, KONDRASHOV SAID, WAS THAT THERE HAD TO BE AN AGREED TERMINAL DATE FOR THE WORK OF THE WORKING BODIES. IT MIGHT THEN BE POSSIBLE FOR THE PLENARY TO CONTINUE ITS WORK ON THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT FOR A FEW WEEKS. THE PLENARY MIGHT EVEN TAKE A BREAK OVER CHRISTMAS AND COME BACK IN JANUARY TO FINISH UP ITS WORK ON THE FINAL DOCUMENT. KONDRASHOV EXPLAINED THAT SOVIETS KNEW OF AMBITIOUS NEW PROPOSALS WHICH WILL BE SUBMITTED BY SOME COUNTRIES (HE REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO YUGOSLAVIA), SAID THE USSR WOULD NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE DRAGGED INTO AN ENDLESS NEGOTIATION OF THE GENEVA TYPE. USDELOFF SAID WE WERE AWARE OF THE DANGERS OF AN ENDLESS MEETING AND DID NOT WANT TO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4915

EXDIS

SEE MEETING UNDULY PROLONGED. NEVERTHELESS, HE URGED SOVIETS TO CONSIDER ADVANTAGES OF OUR TARGET-DATE PLUS CONSENSUS-TO-CLOSE FORMULA, WHICH WOULD, IN PRACTICE, POLBABLY LEAD TO A SHORTER DURATION THAN MENTIONING SPECIFIC DATES IN 1978. KONDRASHOV LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THIS ARGUMENTATION, BUT REPLIED THAT SOVIET TACTIC WAS TO FORCE OTHER DELEGATIONS TO STATE HOW LONG A MEETING THEY REALLY THOUGHT WAS NEEDED. WHEN OTHER DELEGATIONS STATED THEIR VIEWS ON THIS POINT, SOVIETS WOULD BARGAIN OVER ACTUAL TERMINAL DATE. KONDRASHOV SAID SOVIETS WERE IN NO HURRY TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON THIS POINT, BUT WERE PREPARED TO WAIT IT OUT, IN AUGUST OR RETURNING AGAIN AFTER AN AUGUST BREAK TO CONTINUE THE PREPARATORY MEETING IN SEPTEMBER.

(C) DRAFTING WORK DURING MAIN MEETING: KONDRASHOV CLARIFIED THAT SOVIETS FORESEE WORKING BODIES DOING INITIAL DRAFTING WORK DURING MAIN MEETING, AND SUBMITTING PIECES OF TEXT TO PLENARY FOR ASSEMBLY INTO THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENTS, AS WE OURSELVES FORESEE.

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(D) NUMBER OF MEETINGS FOR WORKING BODIES AND DURATION OF THEIR WORK: DESPITE THE FACT THAT SOVIET DRAFT SCHEDULE FORESEES ONLY FOUR MEETINGS

PER WEEK FOR WORKING BODIES OVER A PERIOD OF FIVE WEEKS, KONDRASHOV SAID SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT FIVE MEETINGS PER WEEK OVER A PERIOD OF UP TO SIX OR SEVEN WEEKS. MOST IMPORTANT THING FOR SOVIETS WAS TO HAVE FIRM CLOSING DATE FOR THE WORKING BODIES.

(E) SOVIET DELEGATION TO MAIN MEETING: KONDRASHOV SAID SOVIETS DO NOT PLAN TO INCLUDE MEMBERS OF SUPREME SOVIET AS MEMBERS OF THEIR DELEGATION TO THE MAIN MEETING, DESPITE THEIR AWARENESS THAT U.S. WILL INCLUDE CSCE COMMISSIONERS IN OURS. (SOVIETS HAVE PREVIOUSLY TOLD US JUST THE OPPOSITE.) THERE MAY BE ONE OR TWO EXCEPTIONS IN WHICH PERSONS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION ALSO HAPPEN TO BE MEMBERS OF SUPREME SOVIET. DELEGATION WILL BE HEADED AT OPENING SESSION EITHER BY KUZNETSOV OR KOVALEV (IF GROMYKO IS AT UNGA, KUZNETSOV WILL HAVE TO STAY IN MOSCOW AND IN THAT CASE KOVALEV WILL BE THE CHOICE). FOLLOWING OPENING SESSION, VORONTSOV WILL BE IN CHARGE. FORMER CSCE HANDS, DUBININ (GENEVA BASKET THREE VILLAIN) AND MENDELEVICH (ALL-AROUND CSCE SUPERSTAR, SPECIALIZING IN PRINCIPLES AND CBM'S) WILL BE PART OF DELEGATION FOR A FEW DAYS, BUT OTHERWISE ONLY RETURNEES AT MAIN MEETING WILL BE KONDRASHOV HIMSELF AND A FEW RELATIVELY OBSCURE BASKET TWO FIGURES.
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Message Attributes

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